

/84 cont. /

the question at the head of these lines and which was asked us by no less than a university student.

It is too clear; we are so poisoned by Darwinian transformism, and the primitives have been so denigrated, that only by effort are they thought of as being endowed with reason, moral knowledge, and the faculty of language. Thus, for example, we read in the sociology text of an American university: "The vocabulary of the uncultured man is not made up of more than 300 words...: The remote origins of society is the place we must go to in order to seek out the times when man is still an animal lacking words or an incipient language."

183. On the other hand, should it come to hand, and to further lower mankind and further lower the barrier which separates us from mere animals, after having almost totally denied a language to sundry tribes, they exalt the language of the howlers or araguatos /monkeys," "mimics"/, saying that "they talk for hours on end in the midst of a general silence, followed by a great hubbub, which ceases as soon as the orator again takes the floor." (Topinard.) We wish him good ears for such eloquent words! It is already known that T. writes from hearsay (and remote at that) and that he did not have to endure as we have the howlings of such eloquent orators but a few meters away from our hammock!

In vain do we missionaries repeat that the Indians have a well-organized language, suitable for the expression not only of matters of material life, but also those of intellectual life; time and time again do they come to us with the same questions and the same prejudices, a thousand times refuted.

197 184. To those who ask us how we missionaries manage to
127 reach an understanding with the Indians, I reply that love and labor conquer all and accomplish anything. As Mons. Le Roy tells us in these words: "When a missionary goes to establish himself in an unexplored country, among a tribe which he does not now know, one of the first cares is to learn the language. He may perhaps find some native interpreter; but even in such a

Camarakoto

Taurepán

AMERICAN MUSEUM NOVITATES

DISTRIBUTION OF DIALECTS

197 Carib languages and dialects have been spoken from Cuba and Central America to southern Brazil and from almost the extreme eastern end of South America to the foot of the Andes. They were not spoken in the Andes, except for the Motilones in the Perijá mountains, or west or south of Brazil. The outlying dialects are now mostly extinct or survive in isolated communities in regions predominantly of some other speech. These therefore have little interest from the present point of view. The main region where Carib languages are still the predominant or the only local idioms includes Venezuela south and east of the Orinoco (Venezuelan Guiana or, more properly, Guayana), most of British, Dutch, and French Guianas (especially their southwestern parts), and much of the contiguous parts of Brazil north of the Amazon. This constitutes what is probably the largest single mass of any one stock of Indians still retaining their own speech, organization, and customs that survives anywhere in the world.

Although the Caribs of this region all speak recognizably related tongues, just as the Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italians, and Rumanians all speak Romance languages, these are differentiated into several distinct languages and many local dialects. Kamarakoto, spoken around Auyán-tepü, a great mountain northwest of and somewhat similar to Roroimá,¹ and Taurepán, spoken near to and generally westward of Roroimá, are dialects of the Arekuna language (much as British and American are, properly, two dialects of the English language although the descent is not analogous). The particular interest of Arekuna is that it is, at least in some respects, archaic and that it is spoken almost in the middle of the great central mass of Carib distribution. Zoologically,

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¹ Or "Roraima." "Roroimá" more nearly represents the Indian pronunciation and therefore seems to me more nearly correct.

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Kamara Koto

Taurepan

AMERICAN MUSEUM NOVITATES

DISTRIBUTION OF DIALECTS

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occurring in a transitional zone within the Neotropical realm and still relatively unaffected by human interference. Some collecting has already been done there, but the fauna is not yet well known and further field work is needed.

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It would be confusing to attempt to trace names through every known dialect, even in this central region, so that only four of major importance will regularly be cited (when the words are on record) and others mentioned only if some name in them happens to have special interest. Aside from Kamarakoto and Taurepan, the languages to be cited regularly are Makuchi, south and east of the Arekuna-speaking area, in northern Brazil and southwestern British Guiana, and Kalifia, spoken mostly in Dutch Guiana, a dialect of "Carib" in the strictest sense (not the broader sense used here, much as a "Roman" language might contrast with a "Romance" language). Other languages incidentally mentioned are Akawai, spoken generally in western British Guiana and into Venezuela, northeast and east of Arekuna; Galibi, a dialect very near Kalifia, spoken in the coastal region between Cayenne and Paramaribo; Trio, spoken in southern Dutch Guiana; Vakairi, spoken on the Xingu in Brazil; and Chayma and Cumanagoto, formerly spoken in the northeastern coastal region of Venezuela. Arawak is, of course, a whole family of languages like Carib and the several Arawak names cited here (mostly from de Goeje) are in the dialect of Dutch Guiana as far as that differs from the rather uniform language of the main bodies of Guiana Arawaks. Tupi-Guarani designates another great family of languages spoken along the Amazon and south to the Rio de la Plata. The "Lingoa geral" is a more or less standardized form of Tupi, proper, widespread as a means of communication among the diverse natives of Brazil and it is this form that is cited.

[p. 2-B]

Kamarakoto

TRANSCRIPTION

194 The Carib phonetic system is very unlike
 197 that of any European language and also
 varies greatly from one dialect to another,
 so that any exact representation of the
 pronunciation is impossible without lengthy
 discussion and the use of many specially
 cast typographic symbols. Only a rough
 approximation, sufficiently close generally
 to produce a pronunciation recognizable
 by the Indians, is here attempted. The
 following remarks are based chiefly on
 Kamarakoto, because I know it best, but
 extension to other dialects will not pro-
 duce unrecognizable distortion. In citing
 names from other authors I have trans-
 ferred them into my system of transcrip-
 tion, as nearly as may be, instead of at-
 tempting to explain the different system
 used by each author.

194 VOWELS.—a, e, i, o, and u will be recog-
 nized if pronounced as in Spanish or
 Italian, i.e., given the so-called continental
 values.

There is a whole system of intermediate
 (central) vowels in Carib that cannot be
 correctly represented with our ordinary
 letters. For typographic simplicity I
 have represented the most essential of
 them by *ä*, *ē*, *ð*, and *ū*. *ä* is to be pro-
 nounced approximately like short *e* in
 English, i.e., about as in "met." This
 is quite different from the sound repre-
 sented by *e* and is sharply distinguished
 by the Indians themselves. In many cases
 however, authors have not distinguished
 them in transcribing Indian words and in
 names cited from other authors the sounds
 given as *e* doubtless include some that are
 really *ä*. *ē* is near the so-called neutral
 vowel of English, about like the last *e*
 in "pavement" (as it is really pronounced
 in rapid speech, not with an affectedly
 clear pronunciation) and almost exactly
 like the French sound in "de" or "le." It
 is very unlike *ä* or *e*, being much more like
ō, and the best authorities (such as de
 Goeje, Williams, Koch-Grünberg) usually
 distinguish it, but here again some writers,
 especially those whose native language
 (particularly Spanish) includes no similar
 sound, tend to write *e* and in citing such

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Kamarakoto
Taurepán

194 travelers, or as *d* or *g*. This will be recognizable but is incorrect in that *t* and *k* derive most of their sound from the release of breath when the tongue is removed from the palate, whereas in the Indian sound 'this release is nearly or quite inaudible. *th* is as in English "thin" and *zh* like *z* in "azure." Both sounds are rare and are usually variants of *y*. *y* in general is as in English or Spanish, but it is a peculiarly fluid and protean sound in Carib, even within one dialect, varying from a sound almost *d* to one almost *zh*. It will, however, usually be understood if constantly pronounced as in "yet."

ACCENT.—In Kamarakoto and Taurepán the last syllable is almost always short but carries the stress accent, and this is
[paragraph continues on top of
p. 4-B]

MAMMALIA

192 Animal in general, almost invariably
825 referring to mammals—Kamarakoto *woto*.
197 Taurepán *woto*. Makuchi (Williams)
kamo. These words usually mean an
animal to be hunted and Williams notes
the special applicability of *kamo* to deer,
an example of the curiously world-wide
[paragraph continues on middle
of p. 4-B]

MARSUPIALIA

Opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "rabilado," *Didelphis marsupialis* and *Metachirus nudicaudatus*, and probably also *Marmosa* spp.—Kamarakoto *abare* (open *b*, nearly *v*). Taurepán *aware*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *yawari-kusinai*, identified as *Philander*. Kalina (de Goeje) *awari*. The Guiana Arawak name, *yawali* (de Goeje), is obviously cognate.

Yapok, water opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "perrito de agua" (but this may also be applied to small otters), *Chironectes minimus*—Kamarakoto *abarepoka*, *maparwa*. These were said to be two names for the same animal, the description of which strongly suggests *Chironectes* as does

[p. 4-A]
(paragraph continues on
bottom of p. 4-B)

Kamarakoto
Taurepán

- 194 probably true of most Carib dialects. The penultimate vowel is usually rather long and may be very long, as preceding vowels may also (but very rarely) be. When such vowels are very long, the unstressed length has much the effect on our ears of an accented syllable, our accent being usually a combination of stress and length while these are independent in Carib. In my own transcriptions and when I have been able to recognize them surely in those of others, I represent these superlong vowels by placing a colon after them. Accent will usually be near enough for recognition if these marked long vowels are accented when they occur and the last syllable is accented when they do not.

MAMMALIA

- 192 transfer between the name of a favorite game animal and that of animals in general. The words are also used secondarily to mean "meat," which is more specifically *woto-pun* in Kamarakoto. The Makuchi word is not typically Carib and may well be borrowed for Tupi.

MARSUPIALIA

the inclusion in *abarepoka* of the root for "opossum," although the equation was not definitely established. There is in the Indian mind as well as in those of most other residents of northern South America confusion between the yapok, various otters, and some other water animals. Makuchi *marparwa* is given by Schomburgk as meaning the larger species of otter, while Williams defines it as a kind of frog. Taurepán *aparowa* is cognate, but it is uncertain whether it means *Chironectes*, an otter, or both. Taurepán *awa:lipoka* is given by Koch-Grünberg as a name for an otter, but obviously equals Kamarakoto *abarepoka*.

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Kamarakoto

Taurepán

CHIROPTERA

- 192 Bat, Spanish "murciélago," all genera
 197 and species—Taurepán *maribé* (given by
 325 Koch-Grünberg as *mali:pa*¹). Makuchi
 (Williams) *mara:pa*. Kaliña (de Goeje)
leri. Bakairi (Adam) *meri*. These all
 contain one root, *leri* = *meri* = *mari* =
mara, but it undergoes marked transforma-

[paragraph continues at top of
 p. 5-B]

PRIMATES

Monkey, Spanish "mono," primarily
Cebus apella but probably including some
 other forms—Kamarakoto *ibarga*. Taurepán
ibarga, *iwarka*. My Kamarakoto and
 Taurepán informants distinguished only
 two sorts of monkeys, *ibarga*, including
Cebus and probably any other of the here
 rare smaller monkeys, and *arauta*, the
 howler. Williams gives the following list
 for the Makuchis (the identifications are
 his):

"*Ateles paniscus*"—*kwa:të*.

"*Cebus* sp."—*karima*.

"*Cebus capucinus*"—*iwaru:ka* (despite the
 shift of vowel lengths = *ibarga*).

"*Pithecia leucocephala*"—*thari:ki* (this Maku-
 chi *th* = *y* in most other dialects).

"*Pithecia satanas*"—*kuchi:wë*.

"Sackawinki"—*ita:ru*.

Unidentified—*kari*.

De Goeje gives the following partly
 cognate list for Kaliña (identifications
 de Goeje's):

"*Ateles* sp."—*kwa:ta* (= Makuchi *kwa:të*).

"*Cebus* spp."—*me:ku* (a form of a widespread
 Carib root, *miko*, etc., for small monkeys).

"*Cebus*, small species"—*akalima* (= Makuchi
karima).

[paragraph continues at middle of
 p. 5-B]

XENARTHRA

Three-toed sloth, Spanish "pereza,"
Bradypus tridactylus—Kamarakoto *kwaran*.
 Taurepán *kwaran*, *kuwaran*. Makuchi
 (Williams) *kuwaran*. Kaliña (de Goeje)
kupirisi. Williams defines the Makuchi
 word as *Choloepus*, but Schomburgk gave
 it for *Bradypus* and was, I think, probably
 correct. There is great confusion in the

¹ Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán is that spoken south
 of the Brazilian border and differs slightly but ap-
 preciablely from the purer Taurepán spoken north
 of the border around Santa Elena where I recorded
 my Taurepán vocabulary.

[p. 5-A]
 [paragraph continues at bottom
 of p. 5-B]

Kamarakoto
Taurepan

CHIROPTERA

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● 197
825

tions. No Caribs seem to distinguish different kinds of bats except adjectivally as "large," "small," etc. The Kamarakoto word is remembered as *maripos*, but the written record was mislaid and this is not reliable.

PRIMATES

"*Pithecia leucocephala*"—*aliki* (= Makuchi *thari:ki*).

"*Pithecia antanda*"—not given in Kaliña, *kusi:ri* in the allied languages Trio and Oyana (probably = Makuchi *kuchi:re*).

"*Pithecia chiropotes*"—*keayu*.

"*Nyctipithecus*"—*kubara*.

"*Haplos jacchus*"—*kusi:ri* (same as Trio *kusi:ri* although differently identified).

Obviously these two tribes both know and distinguish more monkeys than do the Arekunas. In their area we saw only *Cebus* and *Alouatta* and such other genera as may occur are apparently very rare.

Howling monkey, Venezuelan Spanish "araguato," *Alouatta senicula*—Kamarakoto *arauta*. Taurepan *arauta*. Makuchi (Williams) *arauta*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aluata*. Cumagagoto (de Goeje) *arauta*. The scientific name *Alouatta*, which has priority over the frequently used *Myceles*, is derived from a French spelling of the Carib word in some dialect in which it was pronounced as in Kaliña. The Venezuelan Spanish name was also derived from the Carib root, but in the form seen in Cumagagoto.

XENARTHRA

European understanding of the native names for this and the following animal, and among the Carib tribes themselves there is little uniformity. I am sure of the Kamarakoto usages, because they were checked against specimens. No tribe fails to distinguish the two genera, although civilized residents seldom separate them.

Two-toed sloth, Spanish "perezosa," *Choloepus didactylus*—Kamarakoto *nupi*. Taurepan *nupi*. Makuchi (Williams) *te-nupi*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aipaula*. Williams

[p 5-B]

Kamarakoto

Taurepan

192 identifies *tenupi* simply as "sloth" and
 197 gives a Makuchi word, *waiwa*, for a third
 825 kind of sloth, but this must, I think, be
 an error, possibly a confusion with *woiwa*,
 an anteater, see below.

Giant anteater, Venezuelan Spanish
 "oso palmero," *Myrmecophaga tridactyla*—
 Kamarakoto *waremá*. Taurepán *waremá*.
 Makuchi (Williams) *tama:nova*. Kalina
 (de Goeje) *tamano:a*. Here again there is
 great confusion between names for the two
 common anteaters and I can guarantee
 only the Kamarakoto and Taurepán us-
 ages. Words cognate with *waremá* are of-
 ten recorded as meaning *Tamandua*, not
Myrmecophaga, and I do not know whether
 this is a real difference in Indian usage or
 simply error on the part of the recorders.
 Similarly words of the general form *tamanua*
 are sometimes given as applying to *Taman-
 dua* and of course that scientific name is de-
 rived from this native root, which is per-
 haps of Carib origin although it also oc-
 curs in Tupi, Arawak, etc., and is practically
 an international word among South Ameri-
 can Indians. It is curious that most authors
 give the variants of *tamanua* as meaning
Myrmecophaga, not *Tamandua*, in Carib
 languages. In Tupi this word applies to
 both genera. The scientific limitation of
 the name to *Tamandua* does not follow
 native usage.

Lesser anteater, local Spanish "oso
 hormiguero," *Tamandua tetradactyla*—Ka-
 marakoto *waiwo*. Taurepán *waiwo*. Ma-
 kuchi (Williams) *waiwa*. I could not de-
 termine whether the Arekunas know
Cyclopes or whether they distinguish it
 from *Tamandua*. De Goeje gives *walili* as
 Kalina for *Cyclopes* ("Myrmecophaga didac-

[paragraph continues at top
 of p. 6-B]

RODENTIA:

Squirrel, Spanish "ardilla," *Sciurus*
 (*Guerlinguetus*) spp. (those seen were all of
 the *S. aestuans* group).—Kamarakoto *kari*.
 Taurepán *kari*. Kalina (de Goeje) *ksi-
 pulu*. Trio (de Goeje) *me:ri*. This word
 is seldom given in vocabularies so that I
 cannot account for the three decidedly
 different roots in the languages here cited.

Capybara, Venezuelan Spanish "chi-

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 [paragraph continues at bottom
 of p. 6-B]

Kamarakoto

Taurepán

- 192 tyla") but queries it, and apparently cognate words in other dialects are usually defined as *Myrmecophaga*, *Tamandua*, or both. This may even be cognate with Arekuna *waremá* (with a root *ware* which is a normal Carib transformation of *wali*).
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- 825

Nine-banded armadillo, Venezuelan Spanish "cachicamo," *Dasypus novemcinctus*—Kamarakoto *atsi:gamo*. Taurepán *kai'kan*. Makuchi (Williams) *kaikan*. In the recorded vocabularies of other dialects the identifications are so vague or confused that they have little or no value. I have not been able to trace the exact distribution and history of the two very different roots appearing in the distinct Arekuna dialects. The Kamarakoto word appears to be an interesting survival of an otherwise nearly lost Indian word from which the Venezuelan "cachicamo" is derived.

Cabassu, *Cabassou* probably *unicinctus*—Kamarakoto *merun*. Taurepán *mu'ru'*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *mu:ru*. Kalíña (de Goeje) *kapasi*. Variants of *kapasi* (*kabasi*, *kapahu*, *kapasu*, etc.) are the most widespread names for this animal in Carib languages, and it seems probable that the French vernacular word on which the prior scientific name was based is derived from a form of this Carib word. At least this is far more likely than Azara's guess that it was a corruption of the Guaraní "*caigouazou*," "large forest-dweller."

Giant armadillo, Venezuelan Spanish "cuspa," *Priodontes gigas*¹—Kamarakoto *mauraima*. Taurepán *mauraimē*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *maouraima*. Kalíña (de Goeje) *manulena*.

RODENTIA²

güire," *Hydrochoerus hydrochoerus*—Kamarakoto *kapi:ba*. Taurepán *paruena*. Makuchi (Williams) *parawi*. Kalíña (de

¹ Pittier and Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list, but it certainly occurs in southern Venezuela.

² Contrary to some statements, it seems certain that leptomorphs occur in Venezuela south of the Orinoco, but perhaps not among the tribes here chiefly considered and I find no Carib word for them. They are unknown to any Arekunas of my acquaintance.

Kamarakoto
Taurepén

- 192 Goeje) *kapia*. Most Carib dialects have
 197 variants of the root seen in Kamarakoto
 825 and Kalina and these, in turn, are related
 to (probably derived from) the "Lingoa
 geral" (Tupi) *kapisara* from which have
 come our English vernacular name and one
 of the several Spanish names for this animal.

Paca, Venezuelan Spanish "lapa," *Cuniculus paca*—Kamarakoto *urana*. Taurepán *urana*. Kalina (de Goeje) *pak* (= *pa'*?). The root seen in *urana* occurs (with great variations) in most Carib languages. The root *paka*, which has been borrowed by the Kalinas, as well as in English and in the technical specific name, is "Lingoa geral" (Tupi). The root *lapa* is Arawak (also used in the English of British Guiana as "labba").

Aguti, Venezuelan Spanish "acure," *Dasyprocta cayana*—Kamarakoto *akuri*. Taurepán *akuri*. Makuchi (Williams) *akuri*. Kalina (de Goeje) *akuri*. This word is international among the South American Indians, occurring in practically all Carib dialects as well as in Arawak, Tupi-Guaraní, etc. The Venezuelan Spanish word is from some Carib dialect allied to those cited and the forms with *-t-*, as in English, are probably from Tupi, *akuti*, or a closely allied form.

Guinea-pig, cavy, Venezuelan Spanish "acurite," *Cavia guianae* and *porcellus*—Taurepán *atu*.¹ This animal apparently has a very limited Venezuelan distribution but it is common in the Taurepán country near the Brazilian border.

Spiny rat, Venezuelan Spanish (in the llanos) "casiragua," *Proechimys cayannensis*—Kamarakoto *urare*. Taurepán *urare*. Makuchi (Hübner in Koch-Grünberg) *urare*. The last word is defined as "*Hesperomys*," which I cannot flatly contradict but which is most improbable since the

¹ Koch-Grünberg defines *atu* as a "rat," but he is mistaken.

Kamarakoto

Taurepán

192 closely allied Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, certainly use the same word only
 197 for the spiny rats.
 825

Rats and mice in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many genera and species of Cricetidae—Kamarakoto *mōmbē*. Taurepán *mōmbē*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *mombo*. This is the general word used to cover almost all rat- or mouse-like animals, as the English vernacular words are.

Unidentified rats or mice (cricetids?); words given as applying to rat-like animals and probably distinctive of certain limited groups, but not defined by the information available:

Kamarakoto *simuru* ("large rat with a long tail").

Taurepán *pulūya* ("large rat"), *sarikau* ("small rat with large ears and long hair"), (Koch-Grünberg) *waimu'pē* ("rat"—this may be equivalent to *mōmbē* and be a Makuchism among the southern Taurepanes). Makuchi (Williams) *waimu* (perhaps a general word, Makuchi equivalent of *mōmbē*), (Williams) *pureya*.

Including *mōmbē* and *ware*, there are six different roots for "rat" or some particular kind of rat in these three languages. All specimens of this sort collected by us were either *ware* or *mōmbē*. It remains for future collectors to fix the meanings of *simuru*, *pulūya* = *pureya*, *sarikau*, and *waimu'pē* = *waimu*.

Porcupine, Spanish "puerco espín," *Coendu prehensilis*—Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *alu*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *mulū*. This animal seems to be very rare in this general region. My informants did not know it and the name is lacking in Williams' large Makuchi vocabulary and in most other Carib vocabularies. Koch-Grünberg obtained the Taurepán word, but notes that the animal is rare. None has been found in this area by collectors.

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Kamarakoto
Taurepán

CARNIVORA

192 Jaguar, Venezuelan Spanish "tigre,"
 197 *Felis onca*—Kamarakoto *kaigutsá*. Taure-
 825 pán *kaikutsá*. Makuchi (Williams) *kaiku-*
chi. Kalíña (de Goeje) *kaiku:si*, *kaiku:shi*.
 Most tribes have an elaborate nomenclature for various kinds of jaguars according to size, color, or fancied resemblance to other animals. Some of these are purely mythical and the rest simply variants of the local race of jaguar. This specialized nomenclature has some ethnological but practically no zoological interest and no attempt is made to give it here. As far as I could judge, it did not suggest real knowledge of more than one natural subspecies or race in each area.

Puma, Venezuelan Spanish "león," *Felis concolor*—Kamarakoto *kutsaribara*. Taurepán *kusarivara*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *soasorana*. Kalíña (de Goeje) *kusalivalan*. In all these and some other Indian languages the puma appears to be named for its supposed resemblance to a deer (*kutsari* in Kamarakoto, see below). The Makuchi word for "puma" curiously contains the Tupi, not the Makuchi, word for this deer. Bates ("Naturalist on the . . . Amazons") supposes the naming of the puma for a deer to arise from the two animals having the same color and Williams adds that he has actually mistaken a puma for a deer. Despite this testimony and without being able to adduce any direct evidence for my suspicion, I do suspect that the original explanation, perhaps now forgotten by the Indians themselves, was different and had to do with their magical beliefs.

Ocelot, Venezuelan Spanish "cunavara, cunaguaro" "tigrito," *Felis pardalis*—Kamarakoto *marakada*. Taurepán *marakada*. Kalíña (de Goeje) *maraka:ya*. These words are all related to, and perhaps derived from the Tupi-Guaraní word *mbarakadya*, *marakaya*, etc. They possibly include other small cats besides the ocelot.

Fox, savanna fox, Spanish "zorro," *Cerdocyon thous*—Kamarakoto *maikan*. Taurepán *maikan*. Makuchi (Williams) *maikan*.

Bush dog, Venezuelan Spanish "perro de

Kamarakoto

Taurepán

CARNIVORA

192 monte," "perro grullero," *Iticyon venaticus*¹—Kamarakoto *yai*' (with a very close
 ● 197 *y* almost like English *th*). Taurepán
 825 *yai*' (similar *y*).

Domestic dog, Spanish "perro," *Canis familiaris*—Kamarakoto *pero*. Taurepán *arimōraga*. Makuchi (Williams) *arimara'ka*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pero*. The Kamarakoto and Kaliña names are, of course, derived from the Spanish but the other two are true Carib and the dog was known to some Caribs before Columbus. Carib names for other domestic animals are all either onomatopoeic or derived from European languages. Many South American Indians call dogs by a name identical with or closely related to that for the jaguar, but these Caribs do not.

Coati, Venezuelan Spanish "zorrogacho," *Nasua* sp.—Kamarakoto *ibarwana*. Taurepán *icarwana*. It is not quite certain that this is always the coati, strictly speaking, but it is the only word the Kamarakotos know for animals of this sort and probably includes any species of *Nasua sens. lat.* and perhaps other procyonids, if any occur in their region.

On the other hand, the Taurepanes not only have this word but at least two others: *araiwa*', "something like a fox, with a black head, and climbs trees," and *koazhi*, "like an *araiwa*' but does not climb trees." I could not equate these with actual specimens. The second is a form of the widespread root preserved in our English "coati," a root derived from or spread through the Tupi language. The Arawak root *kibihi* (and variants) is also used for the coati in some Carib languages (e.g., Akawai).

Otter, Venezuelan Spanish "perro de agua," "nutria," *Lutra*, probably mostly *L. brasiliensis*—Kamarakoto *saro*. Taurepán *saro*'. Makuchi (Williams) *tura'ra*, (White in Beebe's "Tropical Wild Life in British Guiana") *saro*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *awalibuya*. There is little or no doubt that the *saro* is *Lutra brasiliensis*, but the

¹ Pittier and Tate note that this dog probably occurs in Venezuela. It is now known definitely to occur in that country, in Venezuelan Guayana north of the Brazilian border. The only recorded specimen was taken alive in the Tirika valley by our companions on this expedition.

Kamarakoto

Taurepán

192 records of native nomenclature of the
 197 otters are otherwise very confusing. See
 825 *Chironectes*, above. Besides *saro*, Koch-
 Grünberg gives four other Taurepán
 names for otters: *asa:len*, *kara:saiyana*,
kali'nakon, and *jili:ligon* (with variants of
 [paragraph continues at top of
 p. 9-B].

SIRENIA

Manatee, Spanish "manatí," *Trichechus inunguis*—Kaliña (de Goeje) *yala:wa*, *kayumoru*. Makuchi (Appun) *koimuru*. Chayma (de Goeje) *kuyumuri*. The Arawak word is also *kuyumulu*, *kuyumoru*, etc. The Kamarakotos and Taurepanes apparently do not know the animal.

There has been much discussion of the derivation of the word "manatee" (beyond the fact that it is the Spanish "manatí"). West African origin has been suggested but now generally discarded in favor of West Indian origin, probably Carib. This is given in all the dictionaries that I have consulted and apparently is accepted by all zoologists. The usual etymology is to derive it from a Carib word *manatui*, or a similar form, and this is occasionally (e.g., Century Dictionary) said to mean "big beaver."¹

Some of the oldest vocabularies of West Indian Carib do give *manatui* (or an analogous spelling) as the name of this animal. This is further evidence that the
 [paragraph continues at upper
 part of p. 9-B]

PERISSODACTYLA

Tapir, Venezuelan Spanish "danta," *Tapirus terrestris*—Kamarakoto *maikuri*. Taurepán, *waira*. Makuchi (Williams) *waira*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *maipura*, *maipuri*. Both these roots are widespread in
 [paragraph continues on lower
 part of p. 9-B]

ARTIODACTYLA

Savanna deer, Spanish "venado," *Odocoileus* probably *gymnotis*—Kamarakoto *waitin*. Taurepán *waitin*. Makuchi (Williams) *waitin*.

Red brocket, *Mazama americana*—

¹ Although it is not explained why the Caribs should describe a familiar animal in terms of one they probably never saw.

[p. 9-A]
 [paragraph continues at bottom of
 p. 9-B]

Kamarakoto
Taurepan

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each). My Taurepán informants did not know any of these words, and I suspect that they are mythical animals or color variants and not natural forms distinct from the *saro*.

SIRENIA

early travelers believed this to be a Carib word, but it is not proof that it really was such. As far as I can learn, in surviving dialects on which there is reliable information the manatee is never designated by any word remotely resembling *manatusi* or *manati*. There is, however, an indubitable Carib word that is obviously this, or closely related to this: Arekuna *manati*, Makuchi (Williams) *manatē*, Galibi (Adam) *manate*, Akawai (Adam) *manadu*, etc. This word means, not "manatee," but "(a woman's) breast." Since the most striking character of the manatee to most observers, primitive and otherwise, is the human appearance of the mammae, it is a reasonable conclusion that this is really the origin of the name. It is not known, and probably is not now knowable, whether the Island Caribs themselves extended the word and used it as a name for the animal or whether they used it only descriptively and it was mistaken by Europeans for a name.

PERISSODACTYLA

Carib. In some dialects *waira* is liable to confusion with a word of indelicate meaning and this has perhaps influenced the use of the other word for "tapir."

ARTIODACTYLA

Kamarakoto *kutsari*. Taurepán, *kusa-ri*, *usa-ri*. Makuchi (Williams) *usa-ri*. Kalifā (de Goeje, questionably given as "*Cervus nemorivagus*") *kusali*.

Gray brocket, wood deer, *Mazama nemorivaga*—Taurepán *kariyaukē*. Makuchi (Williams) *kariyauku*. Kalifā (de Goeje) *kariaku*. My Kamarakoto informants

[p. 9-B]

Kamarakoto

Taurepán

192 did not name this animal, although it occurs in their region and is doubtless known to some of them.

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Collared peccary, Venezuelan Spanish "chácharo," *Tayassu tajacu*—Kamarakoto *pakira*. Taurepán *pakira*. Makuchi (Williams) *paraka*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pakira*. Cumanagoto (Adam) *pakira*. This root, which also occurs as a loan in some Tupi dialects, has given us our word "peccary." It is peculiar that it has also given rise to the colloquial Spanish "báquiro," through Cumanagoto or an allied Carib dialect, but that this name was transposed by the colonists from this animal, to which it belongs, to the other peccary which has a different Carib name. The

[paragraph continues on top of
p. 10-B]

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[p. 10-A]

[paragraph continues on
middle of p. 10-B]

Kamarakoto
Taurepan

192 Makuchi form is an unusual example of metathesis, *paraka* for *pakara*.

197 White-lipped peccary, Venezuelan Spanish "báquiro," *Tayassu pecari*—Kamarakoto *po-inga*, *poyinga*. Taurepán *pō-inga*, *piyingē*. Makuchi (Williams) *po-inga*.

825 Kalina (de Goeje) *pi:ndya* (final vowel rounded). Koch-Grünberg has a word *tekenoma* (pronounced *tākōnomē* by my Taurepán informant and *tauka:namo* in Kamarakoto) which he lists as if it were a separate, third species of peccary, but its real meaning is "a particularly bad or dangerous wild animal, especially a large and ferocious *po-inga*," as explained to me by Indians of both these tribes.

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[P. 10-B]

/For information on the similarities and differences between the vocabularies of the Kamarakoto, Taulipang (Taurepan), Arecuna and other Carib-speaking groups, see category 116, pp. 29-34, 36-52, 54-71, 86-90, 92-97, and 100-105./

121 for instance, no discussions of childbirth, puberty, menstruation, the couvade,
128 herb and other material remedies, or the incidence of specific diseases.

104 It should further be noted that words in *italics* (aside from obvious taxo-
197 nomic terms or other manifestly different usages) are Indian words given accord-
ing to the phonetic system explained here and that they are in the Kamarakoto
dialect unless otherwise stated. Indian words that have been Hispanicized or
Anglicized are in ordinary type.

101 A frequent source of confusion in the literature is that the word "Carib"
is sometimes applied to the whole, diverse mass of Indians who speak languages
or dialects of this group, from Central America and the West Indies to Southern
Brazil, and sometimes to some particular tribe or smaller group of tribes, es-
[128] pecially the Galibis or Kalifnas. Unless I am quoting an author whose usage is
doubtful, I use the unmodified word "Carib" only in its broadest sense and do not
apply the name specifically to any smaller unit.

LANGUAGE

- /97 The Kamarakotos speak a Carib dialect peculiar to themselves but referable, as I shall show, to the Arekuna language of which one other dialect, Taurepan, is adequately known. Kamarakoto is very much a living language, being the only one spoken by all but three or four members of the tribe. It is relatively pure with slight borrowing from other Indian languages and perhaps at [192] most twenty or twenty-five words borrowed from Spanish. The latter words apply almost without exception to articles obtained from the civilized world,⁸ [177] and most of them appear to have been derived through other Indians rather than directly from Spanish-speaking people.

- 114 Virtually nothing has previously been published on the Kamarakoto dia-
192 lect., the entire previous knowledge of it being three words specified as Kamarakoto in Koch-Grünberg's Arekuna vocabulary. Two of these, walla ("waira), "membrum virile," and (u)sayi, "membrum muliebre," were not recorded by me. The third, maikuli (= maikuri), "tapir," I can confirm as correct and [197] typical Kamarakoto. Contrary to the inference in Koch-Grünberg's discussions, his "Arekuna" is not specifically close to the dialect spoken by the Kamarakotos but differs from real Kamarakoto at least as much as does Taurepan.

PhoneticsIntroduction.

- 194 General character. As with all Indian languages, Kamarakoto phonemes often differ radically from those of any European language. Their principal members usually are at least slightly different from those of, say, Spanish, and the various subsidiary members of one phoneme frequently overlap what are different phonemes in Spanish. Thus the principal member of the Kamarakoto [197] [see footnote on p. 306, category 116 - Anal. 100]

Vocabulary

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Estimates of total vocabulary are necessarily very rough, but the nature of its known vocabulary and the number of words recorded in the best-known allied dialects suggests that Kamarakoto probably has about two thousand distinct words, if simple compounds, grammatical forms, phonetic variants, and suffixes be excluded.³⁹ The vocabulary here given may thus fall short of one-third of the words in the language, but it includes most of the more common and useful words and is full enough for entirely adequate demonstration of the character and affinities of the dialect.

192

Many of the words in the following vocabulary are compared with those of other Carib dialects, especially with Taurepan and Makuchi, because both of these are closely related to Kamarakoto and they are well known. To save space, not all words are so compared, but enough to show the relationships fully. Citations from other students give the name of the latter in parentheses, and when no name is given (all Kamarakoto words and many in Taurepan), the word was recorded by me. All Indian words given without the name of another tribe are Kamarakoto and under each entry the first word given is Kamarakoto.

192

The authorities most cited are Koch-Grünberg (Taurepan, Ingariko, and occasionally other dialects), Williams (Makuchi) and Adam and de Goeje (all other dialects). Words from Adam were almost always and from de Goeje usually recorded in the first instance by other authors, but it is more convenient for present purposes to cite these compilations rather than the very dispersed original publications. Koch-Grünberg gave his vocabularies in complex fairly close transcription. To facilitate comparison and simplify printing, I have here put them into my own broad transcription, and I have occasionally taken similar, but lesser liberties with words cited from other authors. This may occasionally slightly misrepresent the exact sound intended, but it seems both necessary and justified. Readers interested in these other dialects for their own sake and not simply for comparison with Kamarakoto will, of course, consult the original publications.

[109]

I am not publishing comparisons with the scanty Arekuna vocabularies of the two Schomburgks and Appun nor with the better Arekuna vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg. For dialect comparisons within the Arekuna language, accurate comparison is possible or necessary only with Taurepan. The non-Taurepan words in these Arekuna vocabularies (none of them specifically Kamarakoto except three given by Koch-Grünberg as already mentioned) are too uncertain as to exact origin and status within the varied Arekuna dialects to make comparison profitable.

³⁹ [see footnote on p. 310, category 116 - Analysis]

- *192
*193
563. Out of (motion from) — -wapai. Used as a postposition. e.g. tuna-wapai. "out from the water."
564. Like (similar to, in the manner of) — -pa. Used as a postposition. e.g. iwoto-pa. "like an animal."
565. To, on, plus — -pona. Used as a postposition. e.g. ena-to-iratoimar-pona taukin. "ten plus one." i.e. eleven.
566. Method, means of use — (it)teru.
567. Peccary call, sound made by a kawai (No. 237) — wairi.
- 101 568. Names of Tribes — Kamara-koto. This spelling is more strictly correct but for convenience Kamarakoto is used throughout this paper.
569. Arekma.
570. — Pabanston. This is the Kamarakoto name of the Mayongones or Maquiritares.

101
773 The following names are given in the legend of Maicha⁹ as those of racial progenitors and explained by the narrator as archaic names for tribes. Probably none are now applied to actual tribal groups:

571. Karopakot — "from Luepa" i.e., from the northern Gran Sabana or possibly the adjacent Cuyuni valley or British Guiana.
572. Karotiai — from the Gran Sabana.
573. Nungakot — from Brazil.
574. Mwerwan — from the Karoni.
575. Name of legendary hero — Maicha⁹.
576. Name of legendary king buzzard — Arto.

Grammar

*193
114 My stay with the Kamarakotos was not sufficiently long to acquire a fully grammatical acquaintance with the language and all that can be given here are a few notes and general summary of the type of grammatical structure. Koch-Grünberg has provided a relatively full grammar of Taurepán and Williams of Makuchi. These dialects are similar to Kamarakoto in grammar, as they are in vocabulary, but with numerous minor differences. The following notes demonstrate the similarity and show that it is not an identity, without attempting any exhaustive treatment.

The Nom.

*193 Kamarakoto nouns are in a condition between pure agglutination and true inflection. There is no set system of declension but number and case are generally indicated by suffixes or postpositions which appear to be on the same

*²⁸⁵₄₁₁ shoulder, usually also of moriche cord, braided. ¹⁵⁸ The kapok basket is usually tied to this. A cover is made of a circular piece of rawhide, usually deer, ²⁸³₂₃₇ by shaping it over the top when wet and allowing it to harden in the proper shape. This is also tied to the carrying strap. One ramus of the jaw of a caribe ("piranha") fish is tied to the rim of the quiver and it is ready for use.

*²⁸⁵₂₂₇ The last usual type of basketry is the murol' or fish trap. ¹⁵⁹ The general form and operation of these has been described under "Fishing." Here it is only necessary to note that it is a framework of withes that are not themselves woven or plaited but are simply tied together by wrapping with basketry strands, the only example of wrapped work seen among these Indians.

*²⁸⁵₁₉₂ The nomenclature of basketry differs more from tribe to tribe than do the ¹⁹⁷ baskets themselves. Sometimes the names are descriptive and different tribes vary the descriptions. In other cases cognate special words are used but are applied to different objects by different tribes. A good example is the name pakara which in Arekuna means "purse" and is applied by the Kamarakotos to their thread-textile purses. In British Guiana the same word (from which "pegall" or "pack-all" of the colonists is derived) is applied by the Carib tribes to storage or carrying baskets, commonly to what Kamarakotos call ama:tu, which are entirely different from the Arekuna pakara.

The following synonymy of Kamarakoto and Taurepán names shows how different nomenclature may be even between dialects of the same language.

	<u>Kamarakoto</u>	<u>Taurepán</u>
Mats.	<u>o. olori</u> (Not observed)	<u>wōrowori</u> <u>sumbarima</u> (plain plaited casave mat).
Trays and sieves.	(Not observed)	<u>arikoponbē</u> (shallow, plain plaited saucer-like mat or tray).
	<u>o:apa</u> <u>pangai'</u> <u>maturtu</u>	<u>o:apa</u> <u>penga'</u> (Not observed)
Sacks, etc.	<u>wakawa'</u> (Not observed)	(Not observed but doubtless known and essentially a large <u>pakaruma</u> .) <u>pakaruma</u> (deep, plain plaited carrying bags made in many sizes and shapes some of which have special names).

¹⁵⁸_^, ¹⁵⁹_^ [see footnotes on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

Kamarakoto

(Not observed)

pakara (but made of
thread-textile, not
basketwork).

Baskets.

warichawarakapi

(Not observed)

tsimni'soko'wapaamatu

Miscellaneous.

tangōi'akai'koata'mōi-yēmuroi'Taurepān

(in) nōyen (plain plaited carrying
bag, more symmetrical than a
pakaruma).

pakara (basketwork purse).waikarapo, variety chimaran.

(Not observed).

shimu' (a round-bottomed hanging
basket).tsarambasoko'waikarapo, variety warokupadamatutangōi', tenkei¹⁶⁰akai'mōi-yēmuroi'

* ²⁸⁵ Design. Many of the closework woven plaited baskets, trays, etc., are worked in more or less elaborate designs, usually geometrical, occasionally representative. Even the latter are, necessarily, conventionalized and angular in drawing. These designs may be formed entirely by the weaving of similar strands, in which case they are not very obvious, or may be emphasized by differences in the strands running in the two directions. Commonly this difference is that the epidermis is left on manare strands and that one set has the glossy and (when cured) browner outer surface on the same side of the work where the other has the rougher and paler or yellower inner surface — this is inevitable in the technique of weaving o. olori and so especially characterizes them, but it may also be used deliberately (e. g. in a matutu in our collection) even when no technical reason makes it necessary.

The commonest way of emphasizing the pattern, however, is by coloring one set of strands. None of the Indians of this area use bright or varied colors and among the Kamarakotos only soot, scraped from pots, is used. The strands are colored before weaving and the pattern is developed by exposing the colored strands where the design calls for the color.¹⁶¹ These strands are not inserted individually; all the strands of one set are colored so that all the ^{160, 161} [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analysis]

539 roles can, however, be seen in the fact that Piainá is commonly represented
776 as a familiar of the piaches, although hopelessly dangerous to other Indians,
and even as teaching the piaches their peculiar arts and spells.

Character and Habits

157 Much of Kamarakoto character is evident from what has already been
said, for character is inherent not only in the social culture of a people but also
in what they make and use, in what they eat and drink, and in how they
talk. Of course Kamarakotos show marked differences in personal character,
but it is quite possible to speak also of a tribal norm in this respect. Indeed it
was our impression that they are more uniform in character than are most civilized
communities, and this is natural because of the almost complete uniformity
in their lives, lack of division of labor or differentiation of habits as between
different household groups, frequent social contacts with each other, and
fairly uniform genetic heritage.

157 The Kamarakotos are Caribs and the Caribs have a bad name historically.
171 Many of them were cannibals and they have even given us our word "cannibal."²²³
197 Many Caribs were quarrelsome and warlike, a scourge to their neighbors and a
264 terror to the white invaders. Some of them, notably the Mutilones, have not
been conquered to this day and still exact a heavy toll of life from those who
attempt to travel in their fastnesses. Such a picture is, however, completely
157 and ridiculously false as applied to the Kamarakotos. Their most obvious character
traits, as we saw them, are mildness and gaiety. They are happy, affectionate people
who seldom quarrel and seldom show the slightest sign of anger or of opposition.

Humor.

157 Kamarakotos are anything but dour and silent — they do not belong to
152 what some popular writers in North America call the "ugh" school of Indians.
On the contrary, they chatter endlessly and their facile emotions are usually
obvious. The common facial expression is a broad smile, and any amusing
157 incident gives rise to gales of loud laughter. They have a keen sense of humor
522 and are constantly joking. Puns are in high favor (I have noted some on previous
pages). A few other incidents exemplify the sort of things that the Kamarakotos
think are funny (and we shared this opinion). The fact that a flock of chickens
included only roosters gave rise to obvious comments, gaily received. When I
had been measuring their heads and we were about to set off to visit "Kamarakoto,"
the enormous stone that is believed to be their petrified ancestor, I was told to be
sure to bring my calipers (span about 30 centimeters)

²²³ [see footnote on pp 332-33, category 116 - Analysis]
[text continues on p. 263]

194
● 197 15. But Taurepán diaphones of the same word do tend to become bisyllabic. Among them o. ūna was also recorded but ɔ. ina and ōina were also heard and one speaker used the remarkable variant ina in which even the diphthong disappears in favor of a simple vowel and the n is palatalized.

16. It is interesting that this instance of a double vowel does not occur in Taurepán, in which I heard the cognate word pronounced worūwori and wōrowori.

194 17. I use this unorthodox category because the phoneme r-l is not typically a true fricative nor a true lateral, but something of both of them and also of a plosive and even of a semi-vowel. It seems simplest just to call it a flap, which is fairly descriptive and distinguishes it from the wholly distinct fricative r.

Symbols in parentheses represent subsidiary members of phonemes of which the principal members are classified elsewhere. Symbols connected by hyphens belong to different members of the same phoneme.

[128] 18. Nasals in Kamarakoto have a tendency to produce voicing in the following consonant and I now suspect that some of the sounds that I have written as b, especially after nasals, are really members of the p - phoneme, but I cannot now correct my records. In any case the pronunciation is not significantly falsified and may even be better, for Spanish or English speaking persons, than if the correct phoneme-symbol had been used.

19. Here, too, I suspect that some sounds recorded as d, especially after nasals, really belong to the t phoneme, but if so, the spelling here given conveys a better idea of the sound to the Spanish- or English- adapted ear.

20. Except as purely non-functional "grace-notes" in sliding to and from palato-velar stops. A sound in this group analogous to the incompletely stopped forms of b and d would resemble the Spanish j.

21. An occasional exception was recorded, as in the word taigerende, but this is not a fully voiced lenis g but a semi-voiced fortis sound arising from incomplete cessation of the voice between i and e and it does belong to the k-phoneme. The phenomenon involved is well illustrated by the fact that when an informant was asked to repeat the word gwai slowly he said kə-wai - upon being removed from the influence of the following w the guttural lost its voicing.

22. This is well illustrated by Koch-Grünberg's treatment of the closely similar Taurepán sound. He usually writes it as g, but after i he often writes it d. It might be argued that ' ' is merely an artificial grouping of members of the d or t and k-g phonemes, especially as it is almost invariably terminal and d, t, k, and g never are. Carefully noted, however, it is quite distinct in

194 36. The words Kamarata = "Camarata" and Kamarakoto = "Camara-coto" may be written without accents since their penultimate vowels, although less stressed, are about as prominent as the ultimate.

37. An apparent exception is the place (mountain) name Ser-təpui, but here the ser is not really a separate word and -rt- is one of the regular consonant successions, r + stop. Attempts to say ser out of context generally produced se. I do not know how the form Ser-təpui can have arisen. One other place name, Atabar, ends in -r, but in this case there is Spanish influence.

38. There is no obvious reason for this and it may well occur rarely. Non-diphthongal terminal -i is frequently followed by -n.

192 39. A full list including all these forms and variants for any one Carib
114 dialect might have five thousand entries, more or less. No such list has ever been published. Williams' excellent Makuchi vocabulary (which omits such variants) has 1,234 confirmed entries and 468 others representing variants or additional words from previous vocabularies. Adam compares 329 widespread Carib root words and de Goeje 559, mostly different from those of Adam. Koch-Grünberg's remarkably full Taurepán vocabulary has about 1,500 root words and at least as many more compounds inflected forms, etc. Father Cesareo estimates (personal communication) that his manuscript dictionary of this dialect has more or less 4,000 entries, which I presume includes compounds, etc.

It is well known that casual observers almost invariably underestimate the number of words in a foreign language, or even in their own. A fellow-traveler in Kamarata who had made a small collection of Kamarakoto words assured me that the language did not have over 150 in all! The Kamarakotos may be assumed to have a word for every object and every activity of their daily life. The language is poorer than Indo-European languages only to the extent that their environment and activities are less varied.

202 40. Farabee even implies that his Urukuenas, and perhaps also his
114 Kumayenas, had no number words at all except one that meant any number.

193 41. But the reduced form probably does occur in Kamarakoto, cf. endana, "eat," in which the -nda- is probably this root. This may cast some doubt on my view as to the process here involved but is not, I think definitely opposed to it.

192 42. Probably there really is no such word — an interesting example of
● 197 the relative lack of general categories in the language. Williams' excellent
226

- 192 and full Makuchi vocabulary has no such word and the Taurepán word given by
 197 Koch-Grünberg smacks of improvisation because it means simply "hand-bone."
 826

194 43. This is a somewhat puzzling case that I cannot fully elucidate.
 197 The root chi (or che, etc.) is widespread as is also a root pieti (or piti, pet, pe, etc.), with the same or analogous meanings. It is not clear whether there are two roots which in forms like pietsi have become confused and amalgamated, whether pi- is a prefix sometimes dropped and ti, etc., a mere variant of chi, etc., or whether the full original form was something like pietsi, pichi, and it has been condensed to chi, etc., in some combinations and in some languages. In analogy with cases like puta-ta (next word in this list), I incline to the latter view.

104 44. These are evidently vernacular Spanish transcriptions and gu-, hu-,
 192 are to be read w- and z probably as in Castilian.

192 45. Adam supposes o-kiri to be a variant of the root meaning "membrum
 197 virile," usually represented by words more or less near auke. The shift of meaning is plausible (cf. Ingariko in which yun "father" in almost all other dialects, means "membrum virile"), but one could wish for a little clearer evidence that it really occurred.

114 46. Koch-Grünberg, usually so careful, has confused and inadequately
 601 defined these words in Taurepán. He gives mure, with variants, for "kind,"
 197 "knabe," and "sohn," and under this as a root word he gives various combined forms of lume: (= -r-me) as if they were variants of mure. In a later vocabulary he gives (u)mole (= mure) as Ingarikó and unle (= -nre) as the synonymous Arekuna for "kind" (child). Here again he is accidentally equating two distinct roots with specialized and different meanings.

47. Rather surely only a woman's mother-in-law. Koch-Grünberg seems not to have emphasized sufficiently the men and women-generally use different relationship words.

226 48. This ²_^ is the principal fish-poison, but there are others.

192 49. Koch-Grünberg gives a Taurepán word wopa, but this is cognate
 197 with Kamarakoto osapa not with the quite distinct word wapa.

104 50. hu- and gu- in these words is doubtless to be pronounced w-.
 192

* [i.e. ine] - Analyst]

- 000 51. Assimilation of a foreign word to a nearly similar native expression is a common linguistic phenomenon. Compare, for example, the American "jerked" (as applied to dried meat) which is not from "jerk" but from "charqui."
- 113 52. "Unter den Tropen." Jena, 1871 — not much used here because superseded by Williams, but the latter did not personally record this word.
- 197 53. Father Baltasar de Matallana has cited this word as y-apon, =
193 (y)-apon, a form derived from apono, which is the principal unpossessed form of the word in Taurepán, as recorded both by Koch-Grünberg and by me. Father Baltasar then cites Cumanagoto y-apon and Chaima y-aponoto to illustrate the comparative brevity of the root in Taurepán, but in both these cases, the root is apono (y- and -to being affixes), just as in Taurepán, and this is the full, and not a reduced form, of the root. A truly reduced form is probably seen in Galibi abo (for apo). I quite agree that Taurepán, in this and many other words, is relatively primitive, but on the diametrically opposite grounds that it retains these roots in relatively unreduced form.
- 192 54. See Nordenskiöld's very interesting discussion of Indian words for
171 steel knives (1922). He believes that maria is of Arawak origin, which I am inclined to doubt because its distribution is so predominantly northeastern Carib and it is used among Arawaks only by those much influenced by these Caribs. In any case it is an Indian word. So, probably, is kutupara. It is barely possible, but highly improbable, that it is related to "cuchillo." Note also the common words for "iron" in this region, siparari and variants. Taurepán tawōra is a very isolated word of doubtful origin. It can hardly be more than a coincidence that ta-ra, with variants not far from the Taurepán word, is a Carib name for a bird with a knife-shaped tail.
- 342 55. What most authors call "oval" or "elliptical," but it is neither oval nor elliptical in fact.
- 103 56. This supposes that the -ll- will be pronounced in colloquial Vene-
104 zuelan fashion, i.e., like a somewhat sibilant y.
- 103 57. Tuaiba is the Kamarakoto name of this place. Santa Marta was
applied to it by the Spanish-speaking cacique, evidently in an effort to impress his white visitors, but it is doubtful whether the other Indians are likely to continue using it.
- 103 58. The -gu- intended to be pronounced as in colloquial Venezuelan,
104 like English w, but to my ear this is an open b or bilabial y.

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71. At least this is more probable than Azara's guess that it is a corruption of the Guaraní "caaignazou," "large forest-dweller."

72. Pittier & Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list. We did not see it, but the Indians describe it unmistakably and it certainly occurs in Venezuela.

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73. So-called in the Llanos — few Venezuelans seem to use any special name for these animals.

74. Koch-Grünberg gives p elo, apparently another version of "perro," as the Taurepán name of a mythical dog.

[114]

75. Koch-Grünberg is therefore almost surely mistaken in listing it as if it meant a distinct species of peccary and defining it as "a somewhat smaller (than T. albirostris), very bad wild pig."

From the form, meaning, and use of the word, it is possible that it is related to kanaima (No. 249), but this is only a guess and is not definitely probable.

[522]

76. Told me as being a screamingly funny pun, because in Kamarakoto katrupara means "machete," which is used to kill chickens — typical Kamarakoto humor.

77. And Schomburgk gives the same word as Arekuna, compare my Kamarakoto informants' karibana, but this word is definitely not Kamarakoto.

78. The word "caimán" in Venezuela is more often applied to the true American crocodile than to the caiman.

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79. Nordenskiöld (1922) notes the two Carib roots, variants more or less like napi and cha' (or chak), which in Kamarakoto are napwei, a Dioscorea, and (i)cha', Ipomea. He gives both as meaning Ipomea and suggests that when the Caribs first spread over South America they had these two words for the single plant. This seems to me highly unlikely and, indeed it is really disproven by the frequent appearance of both words in one dialect, then always referring to two different plants. When this is true, the napi words always (as far as I have been able reliably to determine) refer to Dioscorea, and I strongly suspect that this is the original, primitive meaning of the root. Whether some Indians really have transferred it to Ipomea or whether this is merely an error of the records, is not clear — probably both are true in different cases. In any event, no historical conclusions can be properly based on such a list as

- 824 Nordenskiöld gives without more careful checking as to whether the napi-words
 241 really are Ipomea in each case and as to whether tribes credited with one word-
 ● 197 root only do not really have both, as is already known to be true of many that
 114 are given only one in this list.

824 80. This has nothing to do with the plants called "cedar" in English.
 It is probably a species of Cedrela and belongs to the Meliaceae.

193 81. It is not unlikely that this is generally true of Carib demonstratives
 and that they could more accurately be called compound personal than demon-
 strative pronouns.

82. Williams suggests that the -t- after i-, e. g. in itepi and many
 other words, is the same as this reflexive t-, but I consider this doubtful in Ka-
 marakoto, at least. it- is used (before vowels) in simple substitution for i- (be-
 fore consonants), with no reflexive sense, and this -t- merely substitutes after
i- for the -y- that generally appears in the same circumstances after u- and a-.

192 83. But I am not sure that this word, heard only in this phrase, is not
 really an adjective, i. e., that the phrase is not "dog alive (is)" instead of "dog
 lives."

193 84. It should, however, be noted (1) that Kamarakoto seems to have
 [197] less root change than Taurepán, e. g. Taurepán unda, "my mouth," to-mäda,
 "their mouths," but Kamarakoto umeta, to^h-meta, and (2) that some of the ap-
 parent stem changes in his vocabulary are not such but result from his happen-
 ing to get different words of related meanings, e. g. u-y-enji (j as in English),
 "my daughter," i:-lumé, "their daughter," but enji and lumé are distinct words
 of different meaning and not simply changes with the person and number of the
 possessive pronoun.

[811] 85. I do not believe that a Kamarakoto could grasp the conception of
 "redness" as an abstraction.

86. endana is a bare verb stem in practice but (as Father Baltasar points
 out for Taurepán) it is derived from primitive roots by compounding: enda (or
 euphonic e plus root nda), "mouth" (related to Kamarakoto meta-to, "mouth,"
 see vocabulary No. 19) plus na, a common word-building suffix with a general
 sense of activity or motion.

193 87. Unfortunately the more completely published work of Koch-
 127 Grünberg was not available to me until I had left the Kamarakotos.
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193 88. Judging from my own observations and from those of Koch-Grünberg
127 and others, this suffix seems to be translated in the wrong person throughout
Bahasar's list, uya being first, not second, person.

126 89. When we had been taking photographs several small boys followed
153 us and each other around pointing and shouting "tsə" in imitation of the shutter.
195 This seemed about to become the word for "camera" in Kamarakoto, but ap-
192 parently it gave way to the word retsata, from "retratar" which they often
heard us say in connection with photography and which they apparently decided
was the word for the object used rather than for the process.

● 197 90. But there are surely unknown or at least unfixed dialects within a
relatively short distance to the west and a longer distance to the south that are
very closely allied to Kamarakoto.

197 91. This is valid evidence of the close affinities, but it should be noted
192 that it is considerably aided by the fact that the Kamarakotos know a good many
[439] Taurepán words as foreign words. They are inveterate traders and have acquired
a smattering of several other Carib dialects, words that they know but do not
use among themselves.

101 92. He was under the erroneous impression that the other Arekunas were
114 forest tribes, which would have suggested a real distinction, but in fact they
are sabana Indians to just the same extent and in just the same way as the
Taurepanes.

101 93. But no good local name has been proposed. The Kamarakotos call
[183] them the Arekunas of Luepa, from what is now (but has only recently become)
[292] the principal place of that region. The missionaries of Luepa and Santa Elena
[114] tend to confine the name Arekuna to these Indians of the northern part of the
Gran Sabana, a usage that seems to me extremely inconvenient and contrary to
precedent and usage either native or European.

197 94. It is not a Kamarakoto vocabulary but resembles Kamarakoto more
114 than does Taurepán in some respects and differs more than does Taurepán in
others. I have gone through the vocabulary carefully but have not given any
comparisons with it here. Its status is thoroughly unsatisfactory for dialect
studies and the Arekuna language as a whole is better known in the Taurepán
dialect. I have not been able to find anywhere in Koch-Grünberg's five volumes
that he states, within several hundred miles, where his "Arekuna" is actually
spoken, or even any assurance that it is not a mixture of words from several
different Arekuna dialects.

- 197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taupén is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taupén
is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in
intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.
- 131 96. The fact that previous maps include too large an area in Kamarata
114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Cama-
rata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really
Kamarata.
- 114 97. Several careful observers, speaking of places inhabited by other
161 Carib tribes, have drawn attention to the fallacy of other less careful travelers
166 who have assumed that the existence of abandoned houses is, in itself, an indi-
cation of declining population. This correction is, of course, valid since houses
are frequently abandoned for reasons that have no relation to racial decline.
At Uruyén, for instance, there are two abandoned buildings still standing and
there are traces of several others, but there is no evidence that the population
of this place (adding in the new places occupied by people who once lived here)
has recently declined. But in the case of the upper Kamarata valley there is a
whole area of considerable extent which was formerly well occupied and is
now wholly deserted. The inhabitants might simply have moved away and
doubtless some of them did, but given the desirability of the site it is unlikely
that all would do so without special reason and we have the Indians' evidence
that most of them died and the rest left on that account.
- 114 98. These statements show how misleading (even though not absolutely
101 incorrect) was Koch-Grünberg's conclusion, based on hearsay evidence, that
the Kamarakotos are the Arekunas of the Caroní. The statement by Kieckers
(see Linguistic References), the authority for which I do not know, that the Ka-
marakoto dialect dominates especially on the Paragua is entirely incorrect. In
103 passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the
name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial pho-
netics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the
Carib paraba, parava, or parawa.
- 551 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same
name.
- 125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women,
and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén,
for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are
counted as men.